MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH,

ON THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

IN SENATE-Manen 23, 1848.

The Senate having under consideration the bill from ! House of Representatives to authorize a loan not to exceeche sum of sixteen millions of dollars, Mr. WEBSTER addresed the Senate on the subject of the Mexican war in a speecl of considerable length, of which we find the following accountin the Senate's Official Report :

Mr. WEBSTER said : Mr. President, on Friday a ill passed the Senate for the raising of ten regimen's of new trops for the further prosecution of the war against Mexico, and se have been informed that the measure is shortly to be followd, in this branch of the Legislature, by a bill to raise twenty e giments of volunteers for the same service. I was desirate sir, on Friday, to express my opinion against the object those bills-against the supposed necessity which leads to the enactment, and against the general policy which they are apparently designed to promote. Circumstances personal to my self, but beyond my control, compelled me to forego on the day the execution of this design. The bill now before the Senate is a measure for raising money to meet the expenses of the Government, and to provide the means as well for othe

things as for the pay and support of these thirty regiments. r, the scenes through which we have passed and are pass ing here are various. For a fortnight the world supposes u to have been occupied with the ratification of a treaty of peace and that within these walls-

"The world shut out"-

notes of peace, hopes of peace, nay, strong assurances of peace, and immediate peace, have been uttered to console us and to cheer us. It has been over and over again stated that we have ratified a treaty-of course a treaty of peace; and as the country has been led to suppose, not of uncertain, and empty, and delusive peace, but real, gratifying, and enduring peace; a peace that shall stanch the wounds of war, prevent the further effusion of blood, cut off these enormous expenses, and return our friends, and our brothers, and our children (if they be yet living!) from a tand of slaughter, and a land of still more dismal destruction by climate, to our firesides and our arms. Hardly have those halcyon sounds ceased upon our ear until, in resumed public session, we are summoned to freeh warlike operations; to the creation of a new army of thirty thousand men for the further prosecution of the war-to carry our power, in the language of the President, still more directly into the vital parts of our enemy, and to press home, by the power of the sword, the claims that we insist upon against a tallen, prostrate, I had almost said an ig-noble foe. If I may judge of the opinion of the honorable member from Michigan, or other speeches delivered in this chamber, there has not been a time from the commencemen of the war when it has been more urgently pressed upon us, not only to maintain, but to increase our military means; not only to continue the war, but to press it with more vigor than at the present time. Pray, what does all this mean? sir, I ask, is it confessed, then, that we are no nearer to peac than we were when we snatched up a bit of paper called, or miscalled, a treaty, and ratified it? Have we yet to fight it out to the utmost, as if no pacification had intervened? 1 wish to treat the proceedings of this and every department of this Government with the utmost respect. God knows that the constitution of this Government, and the exercise of its just powers in the administration of the laws under it, have been the cherished object of all my unimportant life. But if the subject were not too deeply interesting, I should say that our proceedings here might well enough cause a smile. In the inary transaction of foreign relations in this and all other Governments, the course has been to negotiate first and to ratify afterwards. This would seem to be the natural order of conducting intercourse between foreign States. We have chosen to reverse the order. We ratify first and negotiate afterwards. We set up a treaty, such as we find it, and such as we choose to make it, and then we send two ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate thereupon in the capital of the ene-One should think, sir, that the ordinary course of prothen to submit that arrangement to the sovereign authority, to derisable method of procedure. It strikes me that the course we have adopted is strange, is grotesque. So far as I know, it is unprecedented in the history of diplomatic intercourse. Learned gentlemen on the floor of the Senate, interested to defend and vindicate this course, may, in their extensive reading, have found examples. I know none.

Sir, we are in possession, by military power, of New Mexi-co and California, countries belonging hitherto to the United States of Mexico. We are informed by the President that it is his purpose to retain them; to consider them as territories fit to be attached, and to be attached, to these United States of America; and the military operations and designs now before the Senate are intended to enforce this claim of the Executive of the United States. We are to compel Mexico to agree that that part of her dominions called New Mexico, and that other part called California, shall be coded to us. We are now in possession of these territories, it is said, and she is to be compelled to yield the title. This is the process object of this new army of thirty thousand men. It is the identical object, sir, in my judgment, for which the war was originally commenced, for which it has been hitherto prosecuted, and in further ance of which this treaty is to be used but as one of the means to bring about the general result; that general result depending, after all, upon our superior power and the necessity of ale

The members composing the other House-the more pon-

fallen Mexico !

lar branch of Congress-have all been elected since, I had almost said the fatal, the remarkable incidents of the 11th of May, 1846; and it has passed a resolution affirming that "the war with Mexico was begun unconstitutionally and unnecessarily by the Executive Government of the United States." concur in that sentiment. I hold that to be the most recent, authentic expression of the will and the opinions of the people of the United States. There is another proposition, not authentically announced hitherto, but in my judgment equally true-equally capable of demonstration; and that is, that this war was begun, has been continued, and is now pro-secuted, for the great and leading purpose of the acquisition of new territory, out of which to bring new States, with a Mexican population, into this our union of the United States. If unavowed at first, this purpose did not remain unavowed long. However often it may be said that we did not go to war for conquest-credat Judicus Apella !- yet the moment we get possession of the territory, it is said that we must retain it and make it our own. Now, I think the original object has not been changed. Sir, I think it still exists in the eyes of those who originally contemplated it-who began the war for it; that it is as attractive to them, and from which they have no more desire to avert their eyes now than they had then, or have had at any time since we have compelled a treaty cession. We know in our consciences that it is compelled We use it as an instrument and an agency, in conjunction with other instrumentalities and agencies of a more formidable or destructive character, to enforce the acquisecence of Mexico in the acquisition by us of new territory to form new States-new States to be added to this Union. Every intelligent ma knows that there is a strong desire in the heart of the Mexican citizen to retain the territories belonging to that republic. W know that the Mexican people part with their territorypart they must—with regret, with pangs of sorrow. That we know. We know the cession is altogether forced; and therefore, because we know it must be forced—because we know that whatever the Government, which is our creature may do or agree to-we know that the Mexican people winever accede to the terms of this treaty but through an impulse of absolute necessity, and the impression made upon them by absolute irresistible force. Therefore we propose to overwhelm them with another army. We propose to raise immediately ten regiments of regular troops and twenty regiments of volunteers, and to pour them in and upon the Mexi-

is substantially over, that there can be no more fighting. My season advances, they will, on the whole, find it their inteopinion in the present state of things is that the people of this
country will not sustain this wer. They will not go to the
cars, and take their destination to their respective places of expense. They will not find any gratification in putting the bayonet to the throat of the Mexican people. For my part, I hope the ten regiment bill, will never become a law. Three the Capital, and the purlieus of the President's House, they most confidence. Events since have struck me with pain and their families all very happy to receive them. shaken my conviction. Still I hope it will not pass. And here, I dare say, I shall be called a "Mexican Whig." A man who can stand up here and say that he hopes that what the Administration register for the the purpose of creating new States, near the southern portion of the United States, out of Mexican territory, and with such the Administration projects for the further prosecution of the war against Mexico will not be carried into effect is "an enesame thing, an enemy of the President of the United States this, ser, is not a matter of sentimentality, which I am to pa-and his administration and his party. He is a "Mexican!" rade before mass meetings or before my constituents at home. Sir, I think very badly of the Sir, I think very badly of the Mexican character, high and low, out and out; but names do not terrify me. Besides, if repugnance. It is matter of firm, unchangeable purpose, to I am a sufferer in this respect, if I be made the subject of re-I am a sufferer in this respect, if I be made the subject of representation by these stipendiary preases, these hired abusers of the motives of public men, I have the honor on this occasion to be in very respectable company. In the vituperative, the acdenunciatary sense of that term, I do not know greater Mexican in this body than the honorable member om Michigan at the head of the Military Committee. Mr. Cass. • I should like the honorable gentleman to ex-

Mr. WEBSTER. That is exactly the thing I now propo

Cass. I shall be glad to hear the explanation Mr. WEBSTER. In his remarks on this bill in the Senste, the other day, the honorable gentleman told us that his object was to frighten Mexico—it would touch his humanity to burt

Mr. Cass. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I said no such thing. Will the gentleman allow me to state what I did say? I remarked that we had two objects to accomplish in raising these regiments; one was, the vigorous prosecution of the war; and, secondly, to produce a moral effect upon Mexico by convincing her of our determination, and thereby hold out

an inducement to her to make peace.

Mr. Webster. The gentleman said that his principal of ject was to "frighten" Mexico, and that that would be more humane than to harm Mexico.

Mr. Cass, (in his seat) True.

Mr. WEBSTER. It is true? Very well, I thought as much. Now, the remarkable characteristic of his speech which mak s it so much a Mexican speech is, that the gentleman spoke it in the hearing of Mexico as well as in the hearing of the Senate. We have been accused, sir, of being "Mexican Whigs" because what we say here is heard by Mexico, and Mexico derives countenance and support from what is said here. But the honorable member comes forth and tells Mexi-co that his object is to frighten her! His words have passed along the wires, they are on the Gulf, they are floating away to Vera Cruz; and, when they get there, they will satisfy the Mexicans that, after all-after all, "ye good Mexicans, our principal object is to frighten you!" they may not be frightened too much, he gives them notice that the object is to frighten them! Mr. President, when Snug, the joiner, was to represent the lion, and roar on the stage, he was qui'e apprehensive that he might too much frighten "the duchess and the ladies;" and, therefore, by the advice of his commade, one Nicholas Bottom, he wisely concluded that in the heat and fury of his effort he would show one-half his face and say: "Ladies, fair ladies, I would wish you, or I would request you, or I would entreat you not to fear, not to tremble : my life for yours if you think I come hither as a lion it were pity of my life! No, I am no such thing: I am a man as other men are; I'm Snug, the joiner!

But, sir, in any view of this case—in any view of the proper policy of this Government, according to any man's apprension and judgment-where is the necessity of this augmentation of regiments of the military force of the country? I hold in my hand a note, I suppose substantially correct, of the present military forces of the United States. I will not vouch for ts entire accuracy, but I believe it is substantially according to fact. There are now twenty-five regiments of regular troops of various arms, which, if full, would give us a force of 28,960 rank and file, and including officers, thirty thousand and odd men. These, with the exception of six or seven hundred men, are now all without the limits of the United States, in field service in Mexico, or on the route to Mexico. These regiments are not full. Casualties and the climate have sadreduced their numbers. If the recruiting service would now yield ten thousand men, it would not more than fill up those regiments, so as to give the field officers their full command. I understand, sir, that the report from Gen. Scott-Gen. Scott A man that has performed the most brilliant campaign in military annals; a man that has warred against the enemy, warred against the climate, warred against a thousand unpropitions circumstances, and carried the flag of his country to the capital of the enemy, honorably, proudly, humanely, to his own permanent honor and the great credit of his country. Gen. Scott! And where is he? At Puebla! At Puebla, undergoing an inquiry before his inferiors in office, and other persons not in office, while the high powers that he exercised, and exercised with so much distinction, are turned over to another, I do not mean to say an unworthy gentleman, but his inferior in military rank and station.

But General Scott reports, as I understand, that in February there were twenty thousand regular troops under his command, and en route. Add the thirty regiments of volunteers and if full they would make thirty-four thousand men ; officers thirty-five thousand-and there would be a force of regulars and volunteers amounting to not less than fiftyfive or staty thousand men, including the recruits on the way. If my information be exact, and the honorable member from Michigan can correct me if it be not-I presume that ating sentiment of all the North. But we think we must erament of the United States, I thought it my duty, and asked February Gen. Scott had under him in Mexico thirty thousand troops, regulars and volunteers. Now, all ceeding was much the wiser; that to negotiate, hold inter-these troops are regularly officered. There is no deficiency of may fare worse! Mr. Polk will take no less! officers in e or in the staff; they are all full. Whatthen to suome that arrangement to the soveregn authority, to which those agents are responsible, would be always the most derisable method of procedure. It strikes me that the course a plausible reason for saying that it is difficult to recruit at I speak of the President of the United States as I speak of home for the supply of deficiencies in the volunteer regiments. It will be said that volunteers choose to enlist under officers of his opinions, his will, his purpose declared to be fixed, should are well and let all things alone, discountenanced. their own selection; that they do not incline to enlist here as individual volunteers, when the regiment is abroad under officers of whom they know nothing. There may be something in that; but pray to what does that conclusion lead? Does it not lead to this, that all those volunteer corps must moulder away, so far as the privates are concerned, and come to no-Meantime the places of the commissioned officers are continually filled, the regiments being full of officers, although the privates, by casualty or by disease, are reduced to be less in number than the officers themselves. But, however that may be, in regard to the recruiting for the regular service; you an fill up the regiments by pay and bounty, according to existing laws, or new laws, if new laws be necessary. There is no reason upon earth why we should now create five hundred new officers for the purpose of getting ten thousand new men. There are officers to command them. All that is wanted in men; and there is a place for the men, and I suppose that no gentleman can stand up here or elsewhere and say that the re-cruiting service can go on faster than it will be necessary to go in order to fill up these deficiencies in the regiments abroad.

for the supply of deficiencies in the existing regiments, what do we want beyond the thirty thousand regulars and volun-teers now in field service? What is the purpose? There s no army to fight. I suppose the enemy has not five hunred men together under arms in any part of Mexico. Except in one instance, perhaps, there is not half that number. Mexico is prostrate-there is no Government to resist us It is notorious that the Government of Mexico is on our side. It is our instrument, by which we hope to establish such a peace and accomplish such a treaty as we wish. As far as can understand the matter, the Government of Mexico owes its life and breath and being, at this moment, to the support of our arm; and to the hope—I will not say how inspired—that somehow or another, and at no distant period, there may be pecuniary means arising from our three millions, or our twelve millions, or some other of our millions. What do we propose to do, then, with those thirty regiments that we deign to pour into Mexico ' Are we going to cut the throats of the Mexicans' Are we going to plunge the sword deeper and deeper into the vital part of Mexico? What do we prodo ? Sir, I see no object, and yet we are pressed and arged to adopt this proposition in its full length—ten regiments regulars; and twenty regiments of volunteers! old, and the public is told, and the public believes, that we are on the verge of a safe and honorable peace. Every man looks out in the morning for tidings of confirmed peace, or confirmed hopes of peace. He gathers it from the Adminisration, and every organ of the Administration, from Dan to Beersheba; and yet the warlike operations-the incurring of additional expenses—the imposition of new charges upon the Freasury, are pressed here as if peace was not in all our thoughts, at least not in any of our expectations!

Now, sir, I propose to hold some plain talk to-day; and I g to my best judgment and apprehe matters, the main object of these hills is patronage—office— the gratification of friends. This very measure for ten addial regiments creates four or five hundred officers, colonels subalterns, and not them only, for whom I have some spect, but then there comes paymasters, contractors, perengaged in the transport service, commissaries-even down to sutlers, et id genus omne—people who handle the public money without facing the foe; one and all, the true cendants, if not the true representatives of corporal Nym, who said

" For I shall sutler be Unto the camp, and profits will accrue."

Sir, I hope, without disrespect to those applicants and aspi-Now, sir, I should be happy to concur, notwithstanding all this toesin, and all this cry of all the Semproniouses in the land that their voice is still for war—I should be happy to agree, and substantially I do agree, with the honorable member from South Carolina, that, after all, the war with Mexico is substantially over, that there can be no more fighting. My

the country;" or, what gentlemen would consider the against the acquisition of territory to form new States. And Mexican character, high and It is with me no matter of declamation, regret, or expressed southern boundary, I say no, distinctly wo! and I wish every man in the United States to understand that to be my judgment and my purpose. I have said on the southern boundary, because there the present proposition takes its locality. I would say the same of the westorn, the northern, the eastern, or any other boundary. I would resist to-day, and to the end, here and every where, any proposition to add any foreign territory, on the south or west, north or east, to the States of this Lyrion, as they are now constituted and held teachers. this Union, as they are now constituted and heldtogether under the constitution. I do not want the colonies of England on the neth; I as little desire the Mexican population on the south. I resist and reject all, and all with equal resolution;

is—in circumstances so afflictive to the community, and so disturbing to the business of those whom I represent as those which now surround us—I say still that if the question be put to me whether I will have peace, with new States, I say no— no—no! Why? Because, sir, there is no necessity of being driven into the dilemma, irrmy judgment. Other gentle-men may think differently. I own no man's conscience but mine own. I mean to make a clean breast for myself, and I protest that I see no reason whatever to believe that we cannot obtain as safe a peace, as honorable a peace, and as prompt not obtain as sale a peace, as nonorante a peace, without territory as with it. The things are separa-

There is no necessary connexion between them. co does not wish us to take her territory that she may receive our money. Far from it. She yields her assent-if she yield it at all-reluctantly, and we all know it. If she yield, it is the result of force; and there is not a man here that does not know it. Let me say, sir, that if this Trist paper shall finally bs rejected in Mexico, it is most likely to be because those who, under our protection, prepared it, cannot persuade the who, under our protection, prepared it, cannot persuade the Mexican Congress or the Mexican people to agree to this cession of territory. The thing most likely to break up what is now expected to take place is the repugnance of the Mexican people to part with Mexican territory. They would prefer to keep their territory, and that we should keep our money; or we resolve that we should keep our money and allow them to keep their territory. We shall see. I pretend to no powers of prediction. I do not know what may happen. The times are tall of strayer events. But I think it pen. The times are full of strange events. But I think it probable that if the treaty which has gone to Mexico shall pen. fail to be ratified, it will be because of the aversion of the Mexican Congress or the Mexican people to cede the territo-ries, or any portion of them, belonging to their republic.

I have said, sir, that I would rather have no peace for the pre

sent than to have a peace that brings territories for new States,

and the reason is that I believe we can get a peace just as soon without territory as with it-a peace more safe, more en-

during-vastly more honorable to us, the great republic of the

western world. I hear gentlemen say that we must have some territory, that the people demand it. I deny it; at least, I say I see no proof of it whatever. I do not doubt that there are individuals here and there of an enterprising character disposed to emigration, who know nothing about New Mexico, ut that it is far off; and nothing of California, but that it is still further off; who are tired of the dull pursuits of agriculture and civil life. I dare say that there are hundreds and thousands of such persons who might wish for territory in which to seek their fortunes. Whatever is new is attractive to such minds; they feel the spirit of a borderer, and that is, take it, to be pretty tolerably content with his condition till omebody passes beyond him; and then his disposition to take up his "traps" and pass beyond him who has passed himself, and sit down further off, is an irresistible passion. At least so says that great and sagacious observer of human manners, Chateaubriand, when he travelled in this country in 1797. But I say, sir, that I do not find any where, nor that there exists any where, any considerable respectable number of persons who think that we want more territory, and such territory. There were twenty four of us last year who voted against the prosecution of the war for the acquisition of territory, on the ground that we did not want it-Southern men and No ern men. I believe there were Southern gentlemen who concurred in that vote, and who found themselves, even against what might be supposed to be the local feeling and partiality, able to sustain themselves upon the ground of the wisdom of the general policy of not seeking for territory, and, by the acquisition of territory, to bring into our politics certain emreassing and embroiling questions. I do not learn that they suffered by the advocacy of such sentiments : I rather believe that they triumphed in them, and I believe that through the greater portion of the South, if we can trust what has been said here-through the Southwest, to a very great extent, the same sentiment is general—that there is no prevalent opinion take territory: for the sake of peace we must take territory.

This is the will of the President! If we do not take it we to the country. I conferred with gentlemen of distinction and upon! He is immovable! He has put down his foot! He had tion to the question of annexation before it should aft Presidents, without disrespect; but I know no reason why it. But the optimists, the quietists then, who said all things control us any more than our purpose formed upon equally conscientious motives, and, I may add, formed under as high responsibilities as those which she he is firm and will not move. I should be sorry, sir, very sorry, indeed, that we should entertain more respect for the ess of an individual at the head of he Government than one, I do not. It appears to me to be a slaved doctrine. For over all this broad land. If we will take peace without new new States, I am willing to stand upon that and trust the

Sir, I hold this question to be vital, permaner, elementary, But now what do we want with a greater force than we the people. I prefer that it should be submitted to them, beof the constitution, and I am willing to trust that question to or later it is quite apt enough, according to my construction I am willing to take their sentiment on this issue, fro fulf to the British Provinces, and from the ocean to the Misouri. I am willing to ask them, will you continue this war or territory-for territory to be purchased after all for an enormous price, a thousand times the value of all that is purchased— or will you take peace, contenting yourselves with the honor that the country has reaped by the military achievements of its armies? Will you take peace without territory and preserve the integrity of the constitution and the Union? I am

I am willing, sir, to take this issue : peace without new States, keeping our money to ourselves, or war till these new States shall be acquired? That's the question: it is a question for the people themselves. If they support me and the who think with me in the view I take of the matter, very e matter, very well. If they will have territory, if they will add new States to this Union, why let them do so, and they will be the artificers of their own fortunes, for good or evil.

But, sir, we tremble before Executive power. The truth

annot be concealed—we tremble before Executive power! Mr. Polk will take nothing else than this, and, if we do not take this, "the king's anger may kindle," and he may impose still heavier burdens. Now, who and what is Mr. Polk speak of him in no manner of disrespect. I mean only to ask who and what is the President of the United States for the current moment? He is in the last year of the term of his administration—formally, officially, it can only be drawn out till the fourth of March. Why, really and substantially, we know that two short months will or may produce events that render the duration of the official term of very little im-portance. We are on the eve of a Presidential election. That portance. We are on the eve of a Presidential exchange, and machinery resorted to to collect public opinion, or party opinion, is to be put in operation two months hence. see its result. It may be that the present incumbent of the presidential office will be again presented to his party friends and admirers for their suffrages for the next Presidential term. I do not say how probable or improbable that may be—per-haps it is not entirely probable. Suppose that not to be the result, what then 'Why, then, Mr. Polk becomes as absolutely insignificant as any respectable man amongst the public men of the United States—honorable in his private life—vahable in his private character. Respectable—never eminent in public life, he will, from the moment that a new star arises, have just as little influence as you, sir, or I; and, so far as respects myself, God knows that will be very little. Sir, political partisans, and aspirants, and office-seekers are not sur

"Turn on their god when he sets The same look which they turned when he gose !"

Now, sir, if the respectable gentleman who is now at the head of the Government should be agreed upon, there will be those who will commend his consistency, and be bound to maintain it and the integrity of the party : his friends will require that this should be done. If otherwise, who is there in the whole length and breadth of the land who will care for the consistency of the present incumbent of that office? There will then he new objects. Manifest destiny will have fixed upon some other man, sir; the culogies are now written; the commendations of the press are already claborated; I will not say every thing fulsome, but I will say every thing panegyrical is already written out with blanks for names, to be filled when the convention shall adjourn. When manifest destiny shall be reached, then, sir, all these strains of panegyric made bebe reached, then, sir, all these strains of panegyric made beforchand, laid up in pigeon-holes, studied, framed, emblazoned, and embossed, will all come out, and then there will be,
there is bound to be, somebody in the United States, possibly,
whose merits have heretofore been strangely overlooked—
marked by Previdence—a kind of miracle—it is a wonder that
nobody thought of him before; a fit man, and the only fit man
to be at the head of this great republic. I shrink not, therefore, from any thing that I feel to be my duty, by any apprehead-on of the power, and importance, and imposing dignity hension of the power, and importance, and imposing and the power of will which is ascribed to the present bent of that office. I wish we had that power of will. I wish we had that firmness—firmness—firmness. Si sit numen nullam absit. If we had adherence? I wish we could gather something from the spirit of our brave corps that have met the enemy under circumstances most adverse, and have stood the shock. I wish we could imitate Zachary Taylor in his bivouac upon the field of Buena Vista. He said he would reshock. I wish we could initiate Zachary I sylor in his or-vouse upon the field of Buena Vista. He said he would re-main for the night; he would feel the enemy in the morning and try his position. I wish before we surrender that we could make up our own minds to feel the enemy and try his position,

cularly, of the creation of new States. When I came intended the councils of the country, Louisiana had been obtained under the treaty with France, and shortly afterwards Florida was obtained under the treaty with Spain. These two countries were known to us. They lay upon our frontiers. They commanded the outlets of the great river. As I have had occasion to say, and shall new only repeat, without argument, in the first of these instances, the President of the United States, Mr. Jefferson, supposed the acquisition to be unconstitutional: he acted upon that supposition. Mr. Madison stitutional: he acted upon that supposition. Mr. Madison was then Secretary of State. He proposed that a proposition for an amendment of the constitution should be submitted, in order to bring Louisiana into the Union. He drew up the proposition, and it was submitted to Mr. Adams. Mr. Madison did not go upon the general idea that new States might be admitted. He did not proceed upon the motion of a general time acceptance of the control ral amendment to the constitution in this respect, but the amendment of the constitution which he proposed and subnitted to Mr. Adams was article 13th, amendatory of the constitution.—"The province of Louisiana is hereby declared to be part and parcel of the United States." Public opinion, owing to the great importance of this acquisition, took a turn favorable to the affirmation of the power, without any new constitutional provision. The power was acquiesced in. Louisisma became a part of the Union; and, following the example of Louisiana, Florida was admitted. Now, sir, I consider these transactions as past, settled, legalized. they stand. They are part of our political history. They are facts against which it would be idle at this day to contend. My first agency in these matters was upon the proposition for admitting Texas into the Union. That I though annexation of new States; and I may add, and ought to add, in justice, because there was a proposition then before the country, as to Southern States, having a slave population, being represented in the Congress of the United States, upon the ground of inequality. It happened to me, sir, to be called on to address a political meeting in New York, in 1837– '38, after the recognition of Texan independence. I may state now, sir, what I have often stated before, that no man from the first has been a better wisher—a more sincere wellwisher—to the people and government of Texas than myself. I looked upon the achievement of their independence at the battle of San Jacinto as quite extraordinary—almost a marbattle of San Jacinto as quite extraordinaryvellous incident in the affairs of mankind. I was among the first to be disposed to acknowledge her independence, but from the first, and from the first down to this moment, I have opposed as far as I was able the annexation of new States to Union. I stated my reasons on the occasion to which I referred. I have them in a short abstract before me, but it is hardly worth while that I should trouble the Senate with read-

For a few years I held a position in the Executive department of the Government. I left the Department of State in 1843, in May. Within a month after another most worthy and respectable gentleman-who came to a very untimely end-had taken my place, I had occasion to know, not officially, but from circumstances, that the annexation of Texas to the United States was taken up by Mr. Tyler's Administration as an administration measure, pushed, pressed, insisted on, and I believe that the honorable gentleman to whom I have referred, and for whose memory I entertain much respect, (Mr. Upshur,) had something like a passion for the accomplishment of this purpose. And I am afraid that the President of the United States at that time suffered his ardent feel ings not a little to control his more prudent judgment. At any rate, I saw in 1943 that annexation had become a purpose. I was not in Congress, nor in public life, but seeing this state of things I thought it my duty to admonish, as far as I could, the country of the existence of this purpose. There are gentlemen-many of them at the Norththers now in in favor of new territory, and such territory, or of an augmentation of your population, and by such population. I fully persuaded that this purpose of amexing Texas had been need not say that that is, if not the undivided, the preponder-taken up with zeal and determination by the Executive Goveminence; I proposed some means of exciting public atten-

party question; for I had learned that when a matter becom a party matter, it is in vain to argue against it or argue upon repressed, any such effort. They said the North would take care of itself, the country would take care of itself; that is would not sustain Tyler's project of annexation; when the time came the power of the North, which was felt in the House of Representatives, would be sufficient to resist the measure. And I could now refer to paragraphs and articles we can entertain for our own firmness. He will stand out, it is said, against us. Do we fear to stand out gainst him? For danger that we should have an addition of new States; that I am willing to meet the issue, and to go to the people we need not alarm ourselves about it. I was not in Congress when the resolution providing for the annexation of Texas States, and the Administration will have no peace without was passed. I only know that up to a very short period before the passage of that resolution the general impression people. I do that because, in the first place, I think it is was, in the country where I belonged, that no such resolution right, and in the next place I have no distrust of the people. am not unwilling to put that to their sovereign decision and years' experience, that whatever measure the Executive Gov ernment embraces and pushes is quite likely to succeed. There is a giving way somewhere. If the Executive Government the future prosperity of this country and the maintenance | sets with uniformity, steadiness, entire unity of purpose, soones

resolutions for the annexation of Texas passed Constitution, be broken down, let it be the act of themselves. It shall never be my act. I therefore do not district the people. 1845, for her final admission into the Union as one States. I took occasion then to state that I hoped I had shown all proper regard for Texas; that I had been certainly opposed to annexation; that if I should go over the whole matter again I should have nothing new to add; that I had acted all along under the usanimous declaration of all parties, and of the Le-gislature of Massachusetts; that I thought there must be some limit to the extent of our territories; and that I wished that this country should exhibit to the world the example of a pow-erful republic without the greediness and hunger of empire. And I added that, while I held with as much faithfulness as

And I added that, while I held with as much faithfulness as any citizen of the country to all the original arrangements and compromises of the constitution under which we live, I never could, and I never should, bring myself to be in favor of the admission of any States in the Union as slaveholding States, and I might have added, any States at all. Now, as I have said, in all this I acted under the resolutions of the State of Massachusetts, certainly concurrent with my own judgment, so often repeated, and reaffirmed by the unanimous consent of all men of all parties; that I could not well go through the series of positing out not only the impedier, but the unconstitution

one Representative, perhaps, and two Senators; whereas the larger States may have ten, fifteen, or even thirty representatives, and but two Senators. The Senate, added to, sugmented by these new Senators coming from States where there few people, becomes an odious oligarchy. It holds power without any adequate constituency. Sir, it is but "borough mongering" upon a large scale. Now, I do not depend upon theory. I ask the Senate and the country to look at facts: to see where we were when we made our departure three years ago, and where we now are; and I leave it to the imagination to

onjecture where we shall be. We admitted Texas—one State for the present—but, sir, if you refer to the resolutions providing for the annexation of Texas you find a provision that it shall be in the power of Congress hereafter to make four new States out of Texan ter-Congress hereafter to make four new States out of Texan ter-ritory. Present and prospectively, five new States—ten Se-nators—may come into the Union out of Texas. Three years ago we did this; we now propose to make two States. Un-doubtedly if we take, as the President recommends, New Mexico and California, there must then be four new Senators. We shall then have provided in these territories out of the United States along our southern borders for the creation of States enough to send fourteen Senators into this chamber. Now, what will be the relation between these Senators and the people they represent, or the States from which they come? I do not understand that there is any very accurate census of Texas. It is generally supposed to contain a hundred and fifty thousand persons. I doubt whether it is above one hundred thousand.

Mr. WEBSTER. My honorable friend on my left says undred and forty-nine thousand. I put it down, then, one undred and fifty thousand. Well, sir, Texas is not destined probably to be a country of dense population. We will sup-pose it to have near one hundred and fifty thousand popula-tion by the best accounts, and I have given over all that I can find. New Mexico may have sixty or seventy thousand in-

Mr. Cass. Does the honorable gentleman mean to say that made such a remark?

Mr. Weister. I mean to say that the gentleman said it whether I will take peuce in the present state of the country—distressed as it is—in the exigency of this war, odious as it is—in circumstances so afflictive to the community, and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflictive to the community and so like—in circumstances so afflicti habitants, such as they are! Say seventy thousand. In California they are not supposed to be above twenty-five thousand men; but undoubtedly, if this territory should become ours, persons from Oregon and from our Western States will find their way to San Francisco, where there is some good land, and we may suppose they will shortly amount to sixty or seventy thousand. We will put them down at seventy thousand. Then the whole territory in this estimate, which is as large as any man puts it at, will contain two hundred and ninety thousand persons, and they will send us, whenever we ask for them, fourteen Senators: a population less than that of the State fourteen Senators; a population less than that of the State of Vermont, and not the eighth part of that of New York! Fourteen Senators, and no more people than Vermont, and no more people than New Hampshire, and not so many people as the good State of New Jersey! But then, sir, Texas claims to the line of the Rio Grande, and, if it be her true line, why then of course she absorbs a considerable part, nay, the greater part, of the population of what is now called New Mexico. I do not argue the question of the true southern or western line of Texas; I only say that it is apparent to every body who will look at the map and learn soy thing of the matter, that New Mexico cannot be divided by this river, the Rio Grande, which is a shallow, fordable, insignificant stream, creeping along through a narrow valley, at the base of enormous mounalong through a narrow valley, at the base of enormous mountains. New Mexico must remain together; it must be a State with its seventy thousand people, and so it will be, and so will be California. But suppose Texas to remain a unit and but one State for the present, still we have three States : Texas, New Mexico, and California. We have six Senators, then, for less than three hundred thousand people. We have as many Senators for three hundred thousand people in that region as we have for New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, with four or five millions of people; and that is what we call an equal representation! Is not this enormous? Have gentlemen considered this? Have they looked at it? Are they willing to stocked this? Have they looked at a Are they wining to look it in the face and then say they embrace it? I trust in God the people will look at it and consider it. And now lot me add that this disproportion can never be diminished: it must remain forever. How are you going to diminish it? Why, here is Texas, with a hundred and forty-nine thousand people, with one State. Suppose that population should flow into Texas, where will it go? Not to any dense point, but to not be two hundred farmers or planters from the United States be spread over all that region, in places remote from the Gulf, in New Mexico in the next fifty years. They cannot live be spread over all that region, in places remote from the Gulf, in places remote from what is now the capital of Texas; and therefore, as soon as there are in other portions of Texas people enough, within our common construction of the constitution and our practice in respect to the admission of States, my honorable friend from Texas will have a new State, and I have no doubt he has chalked it out already. Well, then, as to New Mexico, there can be no more people there. The man is ignorant, stupid, who has looked at the map of New Mexico and read the accounts of it, who supposes there can be any more people there than there is now: some sixty or seventy thousand. It is an old settled country—the people of the capital of Texas in New Mexico in the next fifty years. They cannot live there. Do you suppose they are going to cultivate lands which cannot be made preductive in the slightest degree withere. Do you suppose they are going to cultivate lands which cannot to made preductive in the slightest degree withere. Do you suppose they are going to cultivate lands which cannot be made preductive in the slightest degree withere. Do you suppose they are going to cultivate lands which cannot be made preductive in the next fifty years. They cannot live upon little. I believe the characteristic of our farmers throughout this country is to preduce a good deal and contained and still hope that Texas is to be filled up by a population like ourselves—not by the Spanish race, not by peons, not by coarse, ignorant, vulgar landlords, with tribes of states. The people that are there produce little and the upon little. I believe the characteristic of our farmers throughout this country is to preduce a good deal. Again, New Mexico is not like Texas.

I had hoped and still hope that Texas is to be filled up by a population like ourselves—not by the Spanish race, not by coarse, ignorant, vulgar landlords, with tribes of states. The people that are there produce little and the productive in the slightest degree with cannot be made pr be any more people there than there is now: some sixty or seventy thousand. It is an old settled country—the people living along in the bottom of this valley on the two sides of a word? I did not like to interrupt the Senator when he was little stream; a garter of land only on one side and the other, filled by coarse landholders and miserable peons. It can sustain—not only under their cultivation, but under any cul ivation that our American race should ever submit it to—no more people than there are there now. There will then be two Senators for sixty thousand inhabitants in New Mexico to the end of our lives and to the end of the lives of our children. And then, sir, how is it with California? We propose to take California from the forty-second degree north latitude down to the thirty-second degree; we propose to take ten degrees of latitude along the coast of the Pacific. All along that great distance there are settlements, and villages, and forts; back it is all wilderness and barrenness and Indian country. But if about San Francisco, and perhaps down to Monterey or a little to the north, there shall be enough to make up one State, why the people five hundred miles off in time to come will civilized man. Lam shall be presented to the real settlement of the foot of why the people five hundred miles off in time to come will civilized man. Lam shall be presented to the real settlement of the foot of the statement of the foot of the country of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the country of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the country of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the country of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the country of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the Rio Grande from the statement of the foot of the Rio Grande from the statement of the Rio Grande from the stat why the people five hundred miles off in time to come will civilized man. I am glad to hear, also, that there are some have another State, and then this disproportion of Senators to the people will go on, and must go on, and we cannot prevent with their miserable condition as not to make some effort to I say, sir, that according to my conscientious convictions, are now fixing upon the constitution of the United States

Sir, I would, if I had time, call the attention of the Senate we are now fixing upon the constitution of the United States and upon our form of Government a monstrosity-a disfiguration-an enormity. Sir, I hardly dare trust myself. I do not know that I may not be under some delesion. I do not know that my head is not turned. It may be that it is the weakness of mine eyes that forms this monstrous apparition. But if I may trust myself—if I may persuade myself that I am in my right mind, then it does appear to me that we, in this Senate, have been acting, and are acting, and are likely to be acting hereafter, a part which will certainly form a remarkable epoch in the history of our Government. Lhold it to be enornous-flagrant-and an outrage upon all the principles of a popular representative government and upon the elementary provisions of the constitution under which we live and which we have sworn to support. But then, sir, what frees the case from this enormity what is to constitute the suitableness of time. Who is to judge of it? I tell you, sir, that the suitable time will come whenever the preponderance of party power here makes it ne-cessary to bring in new States. The time will depend on the state of our politics here, and not upon the condition of these states elsewhere. Be assured, sir, there will be a suitable time whenever strength, or party power, or votes are wanting in this Senate. We have some little experience of this. Texas came in in suitable time. Very suitable! Texas was inally admitted in December, 1846. My friend near me here, Mr. RUSK,) for whom I have great regard, whose acquaintnice I have cultivated with much pleasure, took his seat here, of popular go with his colleague, in March, 1845. In July, 1846, these est on earth. two Texan votes turned the balance in the Senate and over-threw the tariff of 1842, in my judgment the best system of evenue that was ever established in this country. nen of different opinions think otherwise. They think it was it. And I can tell you, sir, that when we have made it a ter mate. They think the Texan votes came time; and they will take care that New Mexican votes shall come in in suitable time also. I understand it perfectly well. It is a difference of opinion between myself and them. To their citizens of New Mexico will be framed in the city of Washpolicy, to their object, to their purposes, the time was suitable, and the aid was efficient and decisive. Sir, in 1850 perhaps similar questions rasy be agitated here—they are not likely to be before—but agitated they will be then, unless some change

> can, the overwheiming mood of imposaucies, to be the case, and suppose that our opponents require additional strength, that will be exactly the suitable time for two Senators from New Mexico to make their appearance here. could, and I never though, tring myself to be in favor of the admission of any States at all. Now, as I have added, any States at all. Now, as I have added, any States at all. The state of the state o any one could have heard who could hear futurer. Did not be seen that all. Every of them voted for annexation. The election came round a few months afterwards, and they were all turned out; but what did those care for that who had the benefit of their votes? Such agencies, or if it be proper to call them instrumentalities, maintain re-spect no longer than they continue to be useful. Sir, we take New Mexico and California. Who is weak

the course of the administration of the Government take

mough to think that there is an end? Why, do we not hear it arowed every day that it is proper for us also to take Sono-ra and Tamaulipas, and other provinces or States of northern Mexico? Who thinks that the hunger for dominion will stop here of itself? Somebody has said that this acquisition is so mean and lean and unsatisfactory that we shall seek no further. In my judgment, sir, you may believe that, if you can believe that a rapacious animal that has made one unproductive foray won't try for a better! But, further, there are some things that we can argue against with temper, and submit to, if overruled, without mortification. There are other things that seem to affect one's consciousness of being a reasonable man, and evince a disposition to impose upon his common sense. And of this class of topics or pretensions I have never heard of any thing, and cannot conceive of any thing more ridiculous in itself, more absurd, and more affrontive to all sober judgment, than the cry that we are getting indemnity. Indemnity by the acquisition of New Mexico and California? I hold them not to be worth a dollar, and we pay for them a vast sum of money. We have expended, as every body knows, large treasures in the prosecution of the war, and now what is there to constitute indemnity? What do gentlemen mean by it? Let us see how this matter stands. We get a country. We get a country in the first instance, without more approached that is lived to country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. What this country is appears from a publication of an honorable gentleman in the other House, in which he quotes an account given by Major Gaines. He says further. In my judgment, sir, you may believe that, if you can believe that a rapacious animal that has made one unproductive foray won't try for a better! But, further, there

tion of the country. So far then as that part of our acqui-sition is concerned, I take it for granted it is not worth a

Now of New Mexico. Of that, forty-nine fiftieths at least is a mere barren waste of desert plain or mountain. There is no wood, no timbes—little fagots to light a fire carried thirty or forty miles on mules. There is no natural fall of rains, as or forty miles on males. There is no natural fall of rains, as in temperate climates. The place and scene are Asiatic—enormously high mountains, running up some to the height of ten thousand feet, with very narrow valleys at their bases, through which streams sometimes trickle along; a garter winds along, through the thread of which runs the Rio Grande from afar in the Rocky Meuntains down to the latitude of about thirty-three degrees, some three or four hundred miles. There these sixty thousand persons are. In the mountains, on the right and the left, are streams whose natural tendencies would be as lateral streams to flow into the Rio Grande, and in certain seasons of the year, when the rains have been about the right in the reasons of the year, when the rains have been about the right in the reasons of the year, when the rains have been about the right and the reasons of the year, when the rains have been about the right and the reasons of the year, when the rains have been about the reasons of the year. tain seasons of the year, when the rains have been abundant in the mountains, some of them do actually reach the Rio Grande, but the greater part of them always, and all of them for a greater part of the year, never reach an outlet to the sea. They are abscabed in the saudy and desert plains of the country. There is no culture any where, save that which can be obtained by artificial watering or irrigation. You can have this along the narrow valley of the Rio Grande, in the gorges of the mountains, where the streams are; but you can down along the course of those streams that lose themselv in the sands.

Now, sir, there is no public domain in New Mexico; there is not a foot of land to be sold by the Government; there is

to a very instructive speech that was made in the other House by Mr. Satra, of Connecticut. He seems to have examined all our authorities, conversed with all our travellers, cor-responded with all our agents. His speech contains all their nmunications, and I commend it to every man in the United States who wishes to know what we are about to acquire by the acquisition of New Mexico. New Mexico is secluded, isblated—a place by itself—in the middle of the mountains, five hundred miles, I believe, from Texas.

[Mr. Rusk. Five hundred miles from the settled portions of Texas.

Mr. WEBSTER. Further from any where else! It loes not belong any where. It has no belongings about it. Eis, at this moment it is absolutely more retized and shut out from communication with the civilized world than the Sandwich Islands, or most of the islands in the Pacific ocean. It presses hard o Types, and the people are infinitely less elevated in mind and condition than the people of the Sandwich Islands; far less worthy of our association; far less fit to send their Senators here than are the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands far less worthy are they than the better classes of Indians in our neighborhood. Commend me to the Cherokees, the Choctaws, if you please—to speak of the Pawnees, the Blackfeet, the Snake Indians, and the Flatheads—any thing except the —— Indians, and I am satisfied with them, instead of the people of New Mexico. They have no notion of our institutions, or of any free institutions. They have no notion of popular government. Not the slightest—not the slight And the question is asked, what will be their nd over-ystem of constitution. They do not know the meaning of the term. Gentle- They do not know its import; they know nothing stall about in suitable ritory, and wish to ington. Now, what says Col. Hardin in regard to New Mexico, that most lamented and distinguished officer, whora I well knew as a member of the other House, and whose death I did most deeply deploze? He gives a description of New Mexico, and speaks of the people of that country in these

m the course of the administration of the Government take place; and, according to my apprehension, looking to general revenue in 1850, two years from this time, we may probably be engaged in a new revision of our system; in the work of establishing, if we can, a tariff of specific duties; in the work of protecting, if we can, the domestic industry of this country, and in the work of preventing to some extent, if we can, the overwhelming flood of importations. Suppose this to be the case, and suppose that our apponents require additional excepts, the will be exactly a very large of the people of that country in these masses, and speaks of the people of that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses, and speaks of the people of that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses, and suppose that our speaks of the people of that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses, and suppose that our speaks of the people of that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses, and suppose that our speaks of the people of that country in these masses, and suppose that country in these masses of the people are on a par with their land. One masses in the sub

I need not read the whole extract. He speaks of all North-

One out of a hundred instances ;" and these are soon to

be our beloved countrymen.

Mr. President, for a good many years I have struggled to oppose every thing that I thought tended to strengthen the arm of Executive power. I think it is growing more and more formidable every day; and I think that in yielding to it in this as in other Instances will give it strength which it may be hereafter very difficult to resist. I think it is nothing else than fear of Executive power that commits us to the support of this war for the acquisition of territory—fear—fear—and nothing else. In the little part I have acted in public life it has been my purpose to preserve the people of the United States—what the constitution was designed to make them—one people, one in interest, one in character, one in political feeling. When we depart from that we break it all up.